

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 CCO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04  
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01  
SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 IO-13  
TRSE-00 EB-08 ACDA-07 EUR-12 ERDA-05 NRC-05 OES-06  
OMB-01 DHA-02 /116 W  
-----282330Z 037601 /14

Z O 281600Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 1263  
INFO AMCONSUL KARACHI NIACT IMMEDIATE  
LAHAMCONSUL LAHORE NIACT IMMEDIATE 3676  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI NIACT IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY KABUL NIACT IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MANILA IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PK, US

SUBJ: PRIME MINISTER ACCUSES US IN POLITICAL CRISIS

1. THE PRIME MINISTER TONIGHT THREW CAUTION TO THE WINDS AND BROUGHT US-PAKISTAN RELATIONS INTO THE CENTER OF THE POLITICAL ARENA. IN A DRAMATIC SPEECH BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, HE ACCUSED THE UNITED STATES OF MASTERMINDING A "COLLOSSAL INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY" AIMED AT REMOVING HIM FROM OFFICE.

2. THE SPEECH BEGAN WITH A LONG RECITAL OF HOW ELECTIONS HAD ALWAYS BEEN RIGGED IN PAKISTAN. IN LIGHT OF THIS HISTORY - ALTHOUGH HE CLAIMED THAT THE 1977 ELECTION HAD BEEN PAKISTAN'S FAIREST EVER - BHUTTO SAID THAT THE RIGGING OF "TEN OR FIFTEEN" SEATS COULD NOT POSSIBLY BE THE ISSUE BEHIND ALL THE TROUBLE THAT HAD DEVELOPED. SIMILARLY, ISLAM AND THE RULE OF ISLAMIC LAW COULD NOT REALLY BE THE ISSUE, SINCE THE PPP WAS DEVOUTLY ISLAMIC  
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AND BHUTTO'S OFFER OF INSTITUTING SHARIAT LAW IN SIX MONTHS HAD EVIDENTLY NOT SATISFIED THE OPPOSITION.

3. THE REAL FACTOR, BHUTTO WENT ON, WAS A "MASSIVE, COLLOSSAL INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY," FUNDED BY AMOUNTS OF MONEY "WITHOUT PARALLEL" WHICH HAD BEEN FLOWING INTO THE COUNTRY. THIS MONEY HAD DRIVEN THE RUPEE-DOLLAR EXCHANGE RATE TO RS. 6 OR 7 TO THE

DOLLAR. PAKISTAN'S INDUSTRIALISTS, BHUTTO SAID, HAD BEEN SUPPORTING THE PNA, BUT THEY HAD NEITHER THE MONEY NOR THE BRAINS TO MOUNT THIS KIND OF SUSTAINED OPERATION. BHUTTO SAID HE "DID NOT WANT TO NAME" ANY PARTICULAR COUNTRIES NOR TO DAMAGE HIS RELATIONS WITH ANY COUNTRY, BUT FELT HE OWED IT TO THE COUNTRY TO "LIFT THE VEIL." "ELEPHANTS NEVER FORGET," AND CERTAIN "ELEPHANTS" IN THE WORLD HAD NOT FORGIVEN PAKISTAN FOR ITS STAND AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR, ITS EARLY FRIENDSHIP WITH CHINA, OR ITS STRONG PRO ARAB STAND IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ALL UNMISTAKEABLE REFERENCE TO THE U.S. AND ITS POLICY DIFFERENCES WITH THE U.S.

4. BHUTTO WENT ON SPEAK OF HOW HE HAD BUILT UP PAKISTAN SINCE THE DARK DAYS OF 1971. HE RECITED HOW "A HIGH FOREIGN OFFICIAL IN NEW YORK" HAD TOLD HIM IN 1971 THAT PAKISTAN WOULD HENCEFORTH BE CONSIDERED ON A PAR WITH SIKKIM, BHUTAN AND NEPAL. IT WARMED THE HEART, HE SAID, WHEN MORARJI DESAI IN 1977 SINGLED OUT PAKISTAN AS INDIA'S MOST IMPORTANT NEIGHBOR BY SPECIFYING THAT INDIA WANTED GOOD RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN, AND WHEN MORARJI DESAI SPOKE OF HAVING A RELATIONSHIP OF EQUALITY WITH PAKISTAN. PAKISTAN WOULD NEVER ACCEPT INDIAN DOMINANCE IN THE SUBCONTINENT, EVEN THOUGH HENRY KISSINGER, IN A COMMUNIQUE ISSUED DURING A VISIT TO DELHI, HAD ACCEPTED THIS DOMINANCE.

5. RETURNING TO HIS ECSIC THEME, BHUTTO SAID THAT HE WAS BEING OPPOSED BECAUSE HE WAS "A PILLAR OF STABILITY AND STRENGTH IN PAKISTAN." THE "ELEPHANTS" DID NOT LIKE THE IDEA OF THE ISLAMIC SUMMIT, HE SAID, AND HENRY KISSINGER, HE IMPLIED, HAD TRIED TO MAKE BHUTTO CANCEL HIS INVITATION TO THE SUMMIT. BHUTTO'S EFFORTS TO PLAY A MEDIATORY ROLE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE, AND IN THE KOREAN DISPUTE, HAD BEEN RESENTED BY THE "ELEPHANTS" WHO WANTED TO SEE PAKISTAN PLAY A REDUCED ROLE IN THE WORLD.

6. THE MOST DRAMATIC PART OF HIS SPEECH HAD TO DO WITH THE REPROCESSING PLANT. WHY, BHUTTO SAID, HAD THIS BEEN THE ONLY ISSUE NOT RAISED BY THE OPPOSITION DURING THE CAMPAIGN? "THE BLOODHOUNDS ARE AFTER ME BECAUSE I TOOK A NATIONAL POSITION ON THIS MATTER," HE SAID. HE REITERATED HIS ARGUMENT THAT IT WAS HIS GOVERNMENT'S POLICY NOT TO MAKE A NUCLEAR BOMB, BUT THAT NO COUNTRY HAD THE RIGHT TO DENY PAKISTAN THE BENEFITS OF NUCLEAR ENERGY AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. HENRY KISSINGER, HE SAID, HAD TAKEN A STRONG POSITION DURING HIS VISIT HERE LAST SUMMER. THE US HAD ASKED HIM TO NEGOTIATE OVER "FORMULAS" FOLLOWING THE VISIT, BUT BHUTTO HAD DEMURRED BECAUSE OF THE US ELECTION. THE US HAD AGAIN ASKED HIM TO NEGOTIATE IN JANUARY; BHUTTO HAD POINTED OUT THAT THEN PAKISTAN WAS HAVING ELECTIONS. NOW, HE SAID, "THEY ARE WAITING TO SEE." IF THE "THE HUBBLE BUBBLE COMES",

THERE WILL BE NO NEED TO NEGOTIATE. IF THIS GOVERNMENT STOOD FAST, "THEN THE MATTER STANDS."

7 BHUTTO THEN SPOKE WITH SOME FERVOR ON HIS MISSION. HE HAD SET OUT TO LIBERATE THE POOR AND DOWNTRODDEN OF PAKISTAN, TO REACH AN HONORABLE AND EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT WITH AFGHANISTAN, TO FULFILL THE MISSION OF THE PAKISTAN ARMED FORCES, AND TO REACH AN HONORABLE, PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE KASHMIR DISPUTE.

8. BHUTTO CONCLUDED BY MAKING EXPLICIT HIS PREVIOUS TRANSPARENT REFERENCES TO THE UNITED STATES. HE SAID THAT FAR FROM SHOWING ANGER TOWARD THE US HE HAD SHOWN RESTRAINT AND HAD EVEN HAD A DINNER FOR THE OUTGOING AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

IN REFERENCE TO THE CHARGE'S DEMARCH TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARY ON APRIL 27, BHUTTO SAID THAT AN OFFICIAL OF THE AMERICAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EMBASSY HAD OFFICIALLY PROTESTED ABOUT THE ANTI-AMERICAN SLOGANS BEING RAISED IN PPP PROCESSIONS. WHAT WAS THERE TO PROTEST ABOUT? COULD HE HELP IT IF TWO AMERICAN OFFICIALS HAD SAID ON THE TELEPHONE THAT "THE PARTY IS OVER" AND "THE GOODS WILL BE EXPORTED TONIGHT." (THE LATTER IS A REFERENCE TO AN OBVIOUSLY TAPED CONVERSATION BETWEEN EMBASSY OFFICERS WHICH WILL BE DETAILED BY SEPTTEL.) HIS CONCLUDING SENTENCE "THE PARTY IS NOT OVER, AND THE PARTY WILL NOT BE OVER UNTIL MY MISSION HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED."

9. THE EMBASSY WILL MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PUBLIC COMMENT BY SEPTTEL.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009